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"We are living in the Republic of the United States of America, a country by no means perfect, in which all too frequently injustice is done. But it is a republic based upon the principles of freedom, justice, and universal suffrage. Our men and women are not likely to throw these rights and principles into the scrap heap for the dictatorship of Moscow's Lenine and Trotzky. The harangues of the Soviets in Russia will fall on deaf ears of the American organized labor movement."

## HAITI AND THE UNITED STATES

On December 18 the Naval Court of Inquiry sent to Haiti to investigate charges by Brigadier General Barnett, former commandant of the Marine Corps, against the representatives of that arm of the navy stationed in Haiti and charged with the duty of policing the island, made its report. The court reported:

The court, having thoroughly inquired into all the facts and circumstances connected with the allegations contained in the precept and having considered the evidence adduced, finds as follows:

1. The court finds two unjustifiable homicides have been committed, one each by two of the personnel of the United States naval service which has served in Haiti since July 28, 1915, and that sixteen other serious acts of violence have been perpetrated against citizens of Haiti during the same period by individuals of such personnel.

2. The court finds further that these offenses were all isolated acts of individuals, and that in every case the responsible party was duly brought to trial before a general court-martial, convicted, and sentenced.

3. The court has found no evidence of the commission of any other unjustifiable homicides or other serious unjustifiable acts of oppression or of violence against any of the citizens of Haiti, or unjustifiable damage or destruction of their property caused by any of the personnel in question.

4. In view of the fact that the only unjustifiable acts found by the court to have been committed are those wherein disciplinary action has already been taken and where no further proceedings could be had in the matter, the court has not deemed it necessary to report further upon the question of responsibility.

Referring to paragraph 2 of the precept, it is the conclusion of the court that there have been no proper grounds for the statement that "practically indiscriminate killing of natives has been going on for some time," as alleged in the letter from Brigadier General George Barnett, U. S. Marine Corps, to Col. John H. Russell, U. S. Marine Corps.

Referring to the amendment to the precept calling for the conclusions of the court as to the general conduct of the personnel of the naval service in Haiti since 28 July, 1915, the court does not consider that the small number of isolated crimes or offenses that have been committed by a few individuals of the service during the period in question are entitled to any considerable weight in forming a conclusion as to the general conduct of such personnel. It was inevitable that some offenses would be committed. However, considering the conditions of service in Haiti, it is remarkable that the offenses were so few in number, and that they all may be chargeable to the ordinary defects of human character, such defects as result in the commission of similar offenses in the United States and elsewhere in the best-regulated communities.

The general conduct of our troops of occupation can be fairly judged by the results of that occupation.

Now, for the first time in more than a hundred years, tranquillity and security of life and property may be said to prevail in Haiti.

The Haitian people themselves welcomed the coming of our men and are unwilling to have them depart.

The establishment and maintenance of tranquil conditions and then the security of life and property all over the Republic of Haiti has been an arduous and dangerous and thankless task. That task our marines have performed with fidelity and great gallantry.

The court cannot refrain from recording its opinion of much, and that the most serious part, of the reflections which have been made upon the officers who have served in Haiti.

The outstanding characteristic of these officers, from the brigade commander down, has been their sympathetic attitude toward every step that would lead to betterment of the country and improvement in the mental, physical, and moral conditions of the population.

With slender resources and inadequate administrative authority they have accomplished much, where anything more than suppression of organized insurrection seemed impossible.

The above remarks apply with particular force to those officers and enlisted men of the Marine Corps who have been serving as officers of the gendarmerie of Haiti.

After a careful study of the matters in issue, based not only on the evidence in the record, but also upon other original and reliable sources of information and the court's own observations while in Haiti, the court regards the charges which have been published as ill-considered, regrettable, and thoroughly unwarranted reflections on a portion of the United States Marine Corps which has performed difficult, dangerous, and delicate duty in Haiti in a manner which, instead of calling for adverse criticism, is entitled to the highest commendation.

Extracts of evidence before this commission of inquiry, taken in Port au Prince last November, were made public January 3, and they have to do with the character of the warfare waged by the bandits of the island against the United States marines. Mutilation and cannibalism are charged in specific cases.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

SALVAGE OF HUMANITY THROUGH PREVENTIVE and remedial medicine and surgery, cash for which is furnished by a rich and powerful nation for the benefit of less fortunate nations, is one of the finest forms of internationalism. A year or two ago the Rockefeller Foundation apportioned several millions of its large income to endowment of the medical schools of London, England, where instruction especially in combatting tropical diseases and research in the origin of these plagues was carried on. More recently the same Foundation has set apart millions for endowment of the Canadian medical colleges. Its work in China, establishing there medical instruction and laboratory work, has become famous throughout Asia. South America has profited vastly by its experts' service in combatting infectious disease, the most notable of the workers being the late General Gorgas. Now the Foundation announces that it intends to help the medical schools of Central Europe, where it will "aid in the rehabilitation of the scientific equipment for medical teaching and research; in furnishing medical journals to universities throughout Europe; and send an invitation to the authorities of the Belgrade University Medical School to study medical education in America and England as the guests of the Foundation."

CHINA'S REPRESENTATIVE AT THE GENEVA ASSEMBLY of the League of Nations, Dr. Wellington Koo, is deemed by his fellow-Chinese Republicans to have won a great political and national victory at that meeting. China's claim to a place in the Council of the League was recognized by most of the leading powers of Europe, by the Latin-American States, and by Canada; and, with a

vote in the Council, China's representative can now play the game on equal terms, so far as voting goes, with Japan. Charles Hodges, an official of the China Society of New York City, commenting on the falling out of Greece from the Council and China's substitution, says:

China is now in a position to sit tight and look into every Japanese project in the Far East with authority. At last Japan has been bested in a diplomatic struggle. It is indeed a great victory, most heartening to the friends of China, who have protested against the Peace Conference's denial of her rights.

The possibilities of China's new and deserved position are far-reaching. For instance, she can bring the morphia topic before the Council; and, regardless of the desire of the Big Three to maintain secrecy, she can see to it that she has the publicity on this matter which will be her only help in the face of the united opposition of the other members of the Council.

THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, DECEMBER 16, decided to deport the agent of the Russian Soviet Government, L. C. A. K. Martens, who has been in the custody of the government since March, 1920. Thus it has again let Russia and the world know that it is unalterably opposed to the Moscow communistic experiment and to any tolerance of a group of political leaders who conspire against the structure as well as the personnel of other governments, and who do it deliberately, as part of a working philosophy of state. It is on this ground that the decree of deportation is based and not on any acts of Mr. Martens while in the United States, where he has had comparative freedom. The United States, so the formal decree says, cannot tolerate within its borders a representative of a government that openly teaches use of force and violence against the United States. Mr. Martens, therefore, like Emma Goldman and hundreds of other lesser revolutionaries, must be ejected. Mr. Martens has been handled with consideration. His comment upon the decision is interesting. He says:

I have communicated the terms of the decision to the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs at Moscow. My action will be determined by the instructions I receive from my government.

The decision of the Secretary of Labor is plainly a political decision, dictated by the policy of the present administration toward the Soviet Government. The order for my deportation is not based upon any alleged activities of mine, but upon the simple fact that I am the representative of the Soviet Government. The decision completely confirms my contention that I have never conducted any propaganda against the United States Government.

Secretary Wilson says: "There is no evidence to show that Martens has personally made any direct statement of a belief in the use of force or violence to overthrow the United States, nor is there any evidence that he has ever distributed or caused to be distributed any literature containing propaganda of that character."

The Secretary of Labor also states plainly that the decision is not based upon any alleged membership in any political party or organization. The decision says: "He [Martens] is not a member of or affiliated with the Russian Communist Party or the Third International."

Thus the ground for deportation is placed squarely upon the fact that I am the accredited representative of the Soviet Government. It has always been my contention, and it was the contention of my attorneys in the deportation proceedings, that a decision of this gravity, affecting as it does the foreign relations of the United States Government, was a matter for the Department of State and not for the Labor Department.

The Department of State, however, preferred to evade the issue and has never even acknowledged the many communications in which I set forth the nature of my mission in this country and the desire of the Soviet Government to enter into commercial relations with the United States. Instead, the responsibility for this grave step has been put upon the Department of Labor, which was never supposed to be the body to determine the foreign relations of the American Government. In effect the decision means that so long as the present policy prevails no representative of the Soviet Government will be allowed to enter the United States for the purpose of establishing friendly and profitable commercial relations between the Russian and American peoples.

Of course, I do not believe that this precedent will be allowed to stand or that it will prevent the ultimate establishment of trade relations between the United States and Soviet Russia. These relations will be established as they are now being established between Russia and the countries of Europe. No temporary prejudice or hysterical policy will be allowed to interfere with the natural interests of the American people. The vast Russian market for manufactured goods of all kinds is the obvious remedy for the period of industrial depression and unemployment into which America is now entering. I am confident the American people will demand a sensible reconsideration of the whole question of Russian-American relations.

RUSSIA'S STRATEGY AS A COMMUNISTIC STATE seeking the aid of foreign capital and capitalists is authoritatively defined in an editorial from *Pravda*, the Moscow organ of the government. It says:

The natural resources of Russia are very great and their development is of great importance to the world capitalists. This explains their support of political adventurers like Koltchak, Denikin, and Wrangel and their interference in our internal affairs.

With the aid of the Red army Soviet Russia has succeeded in saving its natural riches and its independence. Nevertheless, our raw materials are indispensable to the capitalist countries, as without them their industries would gradually come to a standstill.

The Soviet of the People's Commissaries, in view of the difficulties of restoring Russian industries alone and unaided, has decided to grant concessions in Russia to various organizations, commercial firms, and private persons—such as deserve confidence. The concessionaires will be allowed to export abroad a certain quantity of products. Special advantages are offered to those who will introduce into Russia technical improvements.

The foreign capitalists strained all their efforts to transform Russia into their colony. We are now calling on them to act for us in the capacity of assistants.

"SUFFRAGE MANDATES" HAVE BEEN ASSIGNED to the various major countries by the recent International Suffrage Alliance's meeting in London, an organization that includes women from all the continents and that will next meet in Paris in 1922. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the Alliance, says:

Mandates were assigned by the board to various countries. The United States will be asked to assume responsibility for assisting the countries of South America, Cuba, the Philippines, Porto Rico, Panama, Hawaii, and the British West Indies to win the vote. Canada will be asked to take a mandatory for Newfoundland, which does not have a known suffrage organization, while Great Britain will be asked to perform the same office for its dependencies which do not have political equality.

At the suggestion of Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary to the League of Nations, the board presented the name of Mrs. Anna Wickel, of Sweden, as one to be attached to the political department of the League for the purpose of keeping all women's organizations throughout the world informed as to the activities of the League.

The board appointed four standing committees to obtain full information from all countries on certain subjects. The subjects first to be treated by these committees and their chairmen are: Nationality of married women, Chrystal Macmillan; women's right to work and to equal pay, Mrs. Oliver Strachey; maintenance of motherhood and treatment of illegitimate children, Miss Eleanor Rathbone, and equal moral standard and social hygiene, Mme. De Witt Schlumberger.

SOCIALISTS IN THE UNITED STATES, of both the left and right wings, as well as the American Federation of Labor, have gone on record as refusing to have formal relations with the Third International and the Lenin economic dogmatism. The resolutions recently passed by the "Left Wing" indicate that there is at least a prudential attitude, viewing the matter from the standpoint of party growth. The leaders state that America is not Russia, and that there are "limits" to the toleration of the American public's patience. The resolution says:

Our intimate knowledge of American political and legalistic conditions forces us to the conclusion that an acceptance of certain of these 21 conditions *in toto* would be a warrant in blank futility and needlessly would send to prison or to the gallows every effective propagandist in the country, to destroy our organization and papers, and to rebuff the dawning class consciousness of the American working class, even as the unfortunate events laid to the anarchist elements of 1886 injured the budding revolutionary movement of that day. . . . These terms, with their constant exhortation to "illegal action," "severe measures," "armed uprisings," "forcible overthrow," are suicidal for any organization that hopes, in these times, to reach the masses of the American working class.

THE TREND TOWARD ANTI-SEMITISM in the United States, to which we alluded editorially in our December issue, can be much checked if representative Christian organizations and leading Christian preachers and congregations go on record. The Federal Council of

Churches of Christ in America, at its recent session in Boston, and the Church Peace Union, with its headquarters in New York City, have taken formal action. The Peace Union's statement says:

We accept the evidence of men who because of their high standing and important official relations are in a place where if there were such a threatening danger to civilization as is charged by these Jew-haters they would know it. We also accept the unequivocal declaration of Jews whose probity is unimpeachable, that there is not and has not been such a conspiracy as alarmists allege, and that the so-called "protocols of the elders of Zion" are a forgery, as indeed their very character plainly shows them to be.

At this time of world unrest, when all men of good will should endeavor by every means in their power to allay prejudice and promote the spirit of justice and brotherhood, we deem it peculiarly unfortunate that there should be such an outbreak of fanatical hatred against men and women of an ancient race, many of whom are American citizens like ourselves and who form a sober, intelligent, and trustworthy part of our national population.

We are confident that the good sense of the American people will not tolerate the course that is being pursued by those who are attempting to raise mob passion and whose propaganda has now reached such proportions that it can no longer be ignored. It is high time that these persons must understand that they have the unqualified condemnation of all fair-minded men.

ITALY'S SENATE ON DECEMBER 17 ratified the Treaty of Rapallo by a vote of 262 to 22. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Forza, to whom much of the credit of the settlement of the dispute with Jugo-Slavia is due, rightly stressed the very marked gains as an European power with naturally defined boundaries which Italy has won by war and by diplomacy, and he described the profit that would come to her under the Treaty of Rapallo, owing to her concessions to her new neighbor. He claims that occasion for incessant conflict over alien population within Italian borders has been avoided. On December 22, after due warning, the government's forces began to use military force against D'Annunzio and his "irreconcilables." By the first of the year the "Regency of Quaterno" had fallen, the rebellious legionaries had begun to move out of Fiume, D'Annunzio had grandiloquently returned to the King all his decorations won during the war, and he was threatening to leave not only Italy, but Europe, to find either in North America or South America a home for his last years, to be lived as a disillusioned man.

CUBA'S GOVERNMENT IS NOT COMPLETELY AUTONOMOUS. By the Platt amendment to the act of March, 1901, it was formally admitted that the United States might "exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the Treaty of Paris on the United States." Twice, under the authority of this amendment, has the United States felt it necessary to intervene. It may have to do so again and in the near future, because of partisan rivalries that

Cubans seem unable to suppress and which some of them wish the United States to settle. The crisis also exists owing to the financial chaos that recent insular extravagance plus general war-reaction conditions have brought to pass. The dispatch of General Crowder to Cuba by President Wilson, January 3, was the first step in the direction of renewed American supervision, if not intervention. He goes as a special commissioner, and his first duty will be to make a report to the President on conditions as he finds them.

## BOOK REVIEWS

MEIN KAMPF GEGEN DAS MILITARISTISCHE UND NATIONALISTISCHE DEUTSCHLAND (MY FIGHT AGAINST THE MILITARISTIC AND NATIONALISTIC GERMAN). By *Fr. W. Foerster*. Brentano's, New York City. \$1.00.

Fr. W. Foerster has given a new book to the world. Although a German, Professor Foerster is not blind to the wrongdoings and the crimes committed by his native country, the cause of which he traces back to the Bismarckian era.

Foerster is not a professional politician. At the outbreak of the war he was Professor of Pedagogical Psychology at the University of Munich. But he considers history and politics with a rare clearness of mind. He brings forth in a perfectly unbiased way all the facts which are known to both sides; he is an honest judge of his people.

"You will not get rid of me," he says, "because I am a German and because I love my country; I must show you the truth, for to see it is the only thing that can help you. No enemy writer could bring forward a greater and sharper accusation against new German politics and new German militarism than I have done in these pages, but I can do it because I have the firm belief that the old German spirit will arise again."

He goes deep down to the hidden causes of the downhill development of the Germany that was, the Germany which produced minds like Kant, Herder, and Goethe; into the militaristic and boisterous self-imposing Germany of 1914, which, through steel and blood, sought might and glory, and which produced Treitschke and his followers.

Germany gave up the real mission she had had in the concert of the civilized nations in Europe. The drums of militarism taught her a false tune. It was a loud shrieking tune she played, and she demanded that all the world should march to it, regardless of the needs and wishes of all other peoples. In doing so she sold her soul for materialism and unbounded, blindfolded, might-seeking selfishness.

How was such an utter reverse from its own innate mentality possible with a people which, according to its oldest tradition and by force of its very geographical situation, tended to universality, and which has always shown a love, yea, even an admiration, for foreign achievements?

That this change was so radical is, according to Foerster, due to the fact that what a German does he does thoroughly! Foerster says: "It seems to belong to the German element of thoroughness that one epoch of intense intellectuality has to be followed by another epoch which denies all spiritual foundations of life up to their last consequences. The new type converted all traditional norms of valuation and threw all its idealistic force of will power into a cynical affirmation of realistic might-seeking overwhelming oppression." Thus what Germany gained in extension she lost in intention.

The wish for outward extension has throughout history existed in all countries and with all powerful people, but in other countries it was not so exclusive. Other people have too much tact, too much shame to make militarism their outspoken ideal and to preach it as the gospel of their government. That was only possible in Germany, and this it was that brought all the world against her.

"That political causality became in a quite peculiar way a psychological causality is to be ascribed to the continu-

ously irritating effect of the new German national mentality on the mentality of all the other peoples." And this terrible state of mind, which, by its very intensity bordered on craziness, determined also the kind of warfare of the German military powers after the world catastrophe had been precipitated. What made it so dreadful and almost incomprehensible to all those who had known and believed in a Germany with universal ideals was "this appalling solidarity of the higher type with the lower; this high-strung and pathetic unbelief of the idealist in the competence of idealistic factors, the doubt in the superiority of anything that is fair and honest."

Out of the indiscriminate enthusiasm for militarism followed this naif, while mostly unconscious, insincerity and hypocrisy which, remembering great intellectual traditions, used to parade in the wrong places; crying out for sympathy, seeking to demonstrate to those powers which had remained neutral how ill-treated and misunderstood Germany really was; misplaced experiments to "enlighten" other people who did need no enlightenment; stupefied Germans, who begin to awake to the truth, say often now: "We have been misled by our government!" But it is not that; it is much worse! With all the thorough enthusiasm of which the German race is capable, *they have misled themselves*.

Therefore a change into another comprehension of facts, an utter psychical reform is much more difficult, and must be much slower than President Wilson had hoped when he wrote down his 14 points.

"Only a revision of this impossible mentality can bring about a revision of an impossible peace treaty." This is the conclusion of Professor Foerster's deep-searching studies of the world's greatest catastrophe.

That such a book could be written by a German, and that in these opinions he stands not alone, may be regarded as the dawning of a better future, a future in which a true League of Nations is possible and future wars will be made impossible.

LUCY HOESCH ERNST.

THE BRITISH YEARBOOK OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, 1920-21. Edited by *Cyril M. Piciotti*. Oxford University Press, New York City.

This new publication is a good omen of retained interest and faith in international law. Just because its promoters and its learned editorial committee believe that international law is a "living force," and that "a wider knowledge and comprehension of the subject is essential" now, they also believe it to be "equally true that the experiences of the last few years have shown that much that was regarded as definitely established must be re-examined in the light of modern developments" caused mainly by the World War. Science and commerce, they intimate, have vitally affected the old rules of war and of neutrality; and the creation of a League of Nations and the powers conferred on some of its subordinate organs will necessitate "a readjustment of some of the primary rules on the subject of sovereign independent States."

Part of the contents of this volume is elegiac in character. Tributes are paid to men like Oppenheim, T. J. Lawrence, Pitt Corbett, and Heinrich Lammasch, whose works do follow them, though their serviceable careers as thinkers and writers have closed. Other articles have the contemporaneous interest which the following titles suggest: "The British Prize Courts and the War" (Sir Erle Richards), "Sovereignty and the League of Nations" (Sir Geoffrey Butler), "The League of Nations and the Laws of War," "The Neutrality of Brazil," "The Legal Administration of Palestine under the British Military Occupation," "Submarine Warfare" (Prof. A. Pearce Higgins), and "International Labour Conventions" (Sir John Macdonell).

This yearbook is independent of all governmental control or subsidies. It must depend upon the support of patrons who believe in its mission. Its editors assume no responsibility or censorship over its articles. It deserves the commendation of purchase.